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# The AMERICAN OBSERVER

*A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe*

VOLUME II, NUMBER 14

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DECEMBER 7, 1932

## Lame Duck Session of Congress Begins

**Many Problems Confront Legislators but Few Will Be Acted upon Because of Time Limit**

### CONGRESS ROUTINE EXPLAINED

**Most of Vital Work Carried on by Committees and Not by Main Bodies**

The second or short session of the Seventy-second Congress is under way. Senators and representatives gathered again in Washington on December 5 (Congress always convenes on the first Monday in December), prepared to wrestle with some of the grave problems confronting the nation. War debts, the deficit, taxes, prohibition, farm relief, the bonus—these and many other vital questions will be made the subject of much discussion, oratory, and in some cases action, on Capitol Hill during the next three months.

#### Short Session

But only for three months—even less if the usual Christmas recess is taken into account—will this Congress be in session. It must by law come to an end on March 4, 1933. On that date the terms of all the members of the House of Representatives and of one-third of the Senate will expire. The Seventy-second Congress will die as the new administration is born.

Because of the limited time at its disposal, the second meeting of a Congress is called the short session. The Constitution provides that members elected in November shall not take office until the following March. Therefore, the successful candidates of last month cannot join in this session of Congress but must wait for the next, twelve months away, unless Mr. Roosevelt decides to call a special session after his inauguration.

A constitutional amendment is now before the state legislatures for ratification, which, if approved by three-fourths of them, will do away with the short session. The so-called Norris Lame Duck Amendment provides that Congress shall meet in January instead of in December and that members elected in November shall take their seats the following January. Thus, only two months will elapse between an election and the execution of the will of the people. No longer will congressmen who have been defeated at the polls be able to return to Washington to take a part in lawmaking for three months. Once defeated these "lame ducks" will immediately cease to represent the people of their states or districts. And in place of a long and a short session there will be two long sessions, each starting in January and ending when Congress has finished its work, usually in mid-summer. Already sixteen states have ratified this amendment and it is thought that the remaining twenty ratifications will be forthcoming in January when most of the state legislatures meet.

Because it is the second time the same Congress meets, the opening of a short session is never so interesting as the convening of the first. The short session carries on with the organization of the preceding long session. There is usually no speaker for the House of Representa-

(Concluded on page 8)



THE NATION'S INTEREST TURNS TO WASHINGTON AS CONGRESS MEETS  
(An etching by E. H. Suydam in "Washington, Past and Present," by Charles Moore, Century)

## The Art of Civilized Living

There has never been a time in the history of the world when human beings lived successful lives in isolation. Man is a social animal, and has always found some degree of coöperation a necessity. But civilized forms of living call for ever closer association of individuals. As we go about our daily work we are shoulder to shoulder with our fellows. We work with them, we eat with them. We depend upon others to help us in our recreation and our amusements. We get along only by means of economic associations with many men and women, some of them seen and others unseen. Life, under modern conditions, is an almost unbroken series of coöperative enterprises. When the association is close, there are many occasions for irritation. When one depends for so many of his satisfactions upon the conduct of other persons it must inevitably happen that he will often be thwarted, that there will be conflicts of interest. There will also be clashes of personality, wholly unconnected with the interests of any of the parties. People thrown together, forced to work and play and talk together, will at times get on each other's nerves. If one is to get along in such a society, he must suppress his egotism on many occasions. He must push his own feelings and wishes into the background. Unless one is strong in character and well poised in mind, he will feel the strain of this forced coöperation; which is another way of saying that he will feel the strain of civilized living. Only those who are finely fitted in intellect and character can meet handsomely the requirements of the civilized life. To associate with others day in and day out without showing irritation, to live calmly, generously and good humoredly, taking disappointments lightly and contributing to the pleasantness of the associated life—to do all this is to achieve a distinguished manner of living. Such an achievement is a mark of power, a condition of success, a guaranty of happiness.

## Delay Pleas Denied to Foreign Debtors

**Hoover and Roosevelt Agree That December 15 Payments Should Not Be Postponed**

### WILLING TO CONSIDER REVISION

**European Nations Dissatisfied; Britain Fears Grave Financial Troubles**

Next week, the foreign governments owing money to the United States government will be expected to meet their semi-annual installments. This was one of the decisions reached by President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt in their recent history-making conference at the White House. The president will not ask Congress to grant a further extension of the moratorium. Nor will the president-elect request members of his party to support any proposal for postponement. Accordingly, the Department of State has replied to the debtor nations which early last month requested postponement of the December 15 payments and a reconsideration of the entire debt problem.

#### Revision

The more important aspect of the debt question, however, does not concern the payments due next week. It deals with the requests for reconsideration and revision. Shall the settlements made between the American government and the foreign nations several years ago be revised? Shall the United States scale down these debts either by reducing the interest rates or by writing off part of the principal or by both methods? Or, shall this country definitely close the door to further debt adjustments and insist that the debtors pay off their obligations to the last cent?

Members of Congress and private citizens who have been clamoring for full payment of the war debts have found little encouragement in the outcome of the White House meeting. Both President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt have refused to listen to those who have been demanding that the door be closed to the European debtors. On one point above all others are they in complete accord. The debtor nations shall have an opportunity to present their cases to representatives of this government. That is their right. The United States will lend an ear to their pleas for more lenient terms. "It is unthinkable," said President Hoover, "that within the comity of nations and the maintenance of good will our people should refuse to consider the request of a friendly people to discuss any important question in which they and we both have a vital interest, irrespective of what conclusions might arise from such a discussion." And Governor Roosevelt was no less certain on this matter: "With regard to general policies respecting these debts I firmly believe in the principle that an individual debtor should at all times have access to the creditor; that he should have opportunity to lay facts and representations before the creditor and that the creditor always should give courteous, sympathetic and thoughtful consideration to such facts and representations."

#### Procedure

Insofar as the incoming and outgoing presidents are concerned, therefore, the



debtor nations are invited to present their cases to this government. While the two leaders agree on this principle, they are not in complete accord as to the method by which such requests should be handled. Each has suggested a different procedure. President Hoover believes, and will recommend to Congress, that a special agency be set up to hear the requests for debt revision. Such an agency, it is supposed, would be similar to the World War Foreign Debt Commission, an agency created by Congress in 1922 to deal with the debtors. It was this commission which drew up the agreements now in force.

Governor Roosevelt would proceed with the debt negotiations in a different manner. He does not favor the creation of a special agency to carry on the negotiations. Rather, he would have the debtor nations seeking revision present their pleas through the regular diplomatic channels, that is, to representatives of the State Department—ambassadors or special envoys. These representatives would draw up agreements with the foreign nations and the treaties would then be presented to Congress for its approval.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that it is unnecessary for the president to request authority from Congress to open negotiations. The president already has that power, he declares. In his statement following the White House conference, the New York governor said:

No action by the Congress has limited or can limit the Constitutional power of the President to carry on diplomatic contacts or conversations with foreign governments. The advantage of this method of maintaining contacts with foreign governments is that any one of the debtor nations may at any time bring to the attention of the government of the United States new conditions and facts affecting any phase of its indebtedness.

The essential difference between the two views is this: The president would first ask Congress to set up the debt commission. The agency would then carry on negotiations with the foreign nations, draw up agreements. Then, the president would ask Congress to ratify the agreements reached. Thus, the consent of Congress would have to be obtained twice before any revision or adjustment could become effective. Mr. Roosevelt, on the other hand, would dispense with the first action. He would not ask Congress to grant him authority to negotiate. He believes that is not necessary. He would confront Congress only with the completed agreements drawn up by American diplomatic representatives and the foreign governments.

#### Payment in Currency

While both have agreed that the December payments shall be met, Mr. Hoover has suggested a plan which, in his opinion, will remove one of the major obstacles confronting the debtors. It is the difficulty of shipping large sums of gold out of a country, as we explained in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER two weeks ago. The British situation is particularly acute. According to the terms of the agreements now existing, Great Britain would have to turn over to the United States government \$95,550,000 next week. The supply of gold held by Britain is limited. It had to abandon the gold standard a little more than a year ago because of diminishing gold reserves. Since that time, the pound sterling, English monetary unit, has declined greatly in value. From \$4.86, which the pound was worth formerly, it has recently fallen to \$3.15, the lowest level on record. It has been greatly feared that the pound will decline further if Britain is obliged to transfer nearly \$100,000,000 in gold to this country.

Now, the plan suggested by Mr. Hoover to meet this difficulty is to have Britain, or any other debtor in similar straits, pay its installment not in gold but in its own currency. Thus, Britain would be permitted to make payment in paper currency—pounds sterling—instead of in American dollars or gold. This paper money would be held by the American government until it could be converted into gold or dollars without causing a severe strain upon the finances of the debtor nations. The president believes that such a plan will prevent

a serious crisis and will enable the debtors to make payment without undue strain. Mr. Hoover is said to have taken up this proposal with the members of Congress who recently assembled at the White House and it is thought that Congress will authorize such a modification of the debt agreements.

#### Trade Effects

There is another reason for Mr. Hoover's plan of payment in foreign currency. Gold payments would be likely to have serious effects upon American trade. They would make it more difficult for farmers and manufacturers in this country to sell their goods abroad. Let us see how this would work. We shall take the case of Great Britain, remembering that Britain

turned over to American exporters in payment for goods shipped to England. It would thus become difficult for British purchasers to obtain dollars to pay for goods bought in this country. Americans would have a more difficult time to sell their surplus goods abroad.

#### Europe's Reaction

While these are the main developments of the war debt problem on this side of the Atlantic, Europe is facing the situation with uneasiness and grave concern. Britain and France, the two main debtors, are admittedly disappointed at the outcome of the Hoover-Roosevelt conference. They had hoped for postponement until the whole question could be gone over once more and a satisfactory solution reached.

mediately. The government prepared to send a reply to the United States, stating why France thinks the debts should be postponed. In the case of France, the argument would not be so much the inability to meet next week's payments as to the shock that American demands would have upon world confidence. The French would stress the fact that final acceptance of the Lausanne agreements, which practically wiped out reparations from Germany, depends upon the willingness of the United States to adjust the war debts owed by its former allies. If the United States refuses, the French declare, all the good accomplished at Lausanne will be undone and the whole matter will have to be revived.

Europe feels that the American government is making a mistake by not postponing the debt payments pending final settlement of the problem. The British point of view has been briefly summed up by a recent editorial appear in the London Times:

It is no more easy for the American taxpayer than it would be for the taxpayer of any other democracy to realize he is going to be made poorer, not richer, by exacting the payment of debts which are legally due him.

What does directly concern America is the inevitable effect upon exchanges and upon international trade—especially American trade—of the transfer of this amount of sterling into gold or dollars. The plain fact is it can only be followed by further depreciation of sterling in terms of gold and thus place still further difficulties in the way of America's diminishing export trade.

The purchase of gold or dollars to pay the installment must by so much reduce the quantity of American goods which Britain and other sterling countries can afford to buy. In the first nine months of the present year we bought from America goods to the value of \$59,000,000 and sold her to the value of \$11,000,000. . . . To insist upon payment of the December installment is to compel us, whether we like it or not, to restrict by every possible means our purchases in the United States and to increase our sales.

Still more serious even from the purely American viewpoint must be the unsettlement of the whole reparations agreement achieved at Lausanne and the consequent destruction of confidence which is beginning slowly to revive. Hope for a speedy recovery of stability must be given a disastrous setback and the prospects of the world economic conference seem almost hopeless.

#### Debts and Armaments

There are many people in this country, both in Congress and out, who would be willing to make concessions to Europe on the debts if Europe in return would agree to reduce its armaments. It is commonly heard that if European nations can afford to maintain expensive armaments they can afford to pay their debts. In 1931, the five principal debtor nations spent more than \$1,500,000,000 for armaments, whereas their debt payments to the United States would have amounted to \$228,000,000. Why then, cannot Europe save enough money from its armaments to pay the war debts?

It should be remembered, however, that there is a great difference between money spent within the borders of a country and money shipped abroad. Paper money is generally used within a country. It is backed up by gold and retains its value only so long as there is a sufficient gold reserve. Also, there is more paper money printed than there is gold because securities are used. Now, it is this paper money that is used for armaments. Guns, munitions, materials for battleships, soldiers' wages—all are paid for in this money.

But this paper money cannot be used to pay a foreign debt. It is of no use to a foreign nation unless it can be converted into gold. Under the Hoover proposal, the foreign currency accepted for the December 15 payment would sooner or later have to be converted into gold. The spending of large sums for armaments does not decrease this supply of gold. A country might close down its shipyards, munition plants, discharge its soldiers and still its supply of gold would not be increased. Thus, it is apparent that a nation may spend large sums of money within its own borders for armaments and still not be able to pay its debts to another country. It may use its own paper money, which is perfectly good, to build armaments but it may not use that same money to pay a war debt.



WHEN PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT CAME TO WASHINGTON TO DISCUSS WAR DEBTS WITH PRESIDENT HOOVER

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Garner are shown with Bascom N. Timmons, president of the National Press Club, on the occasion of a dinner given in their honor at the Press Club. Mr. Roosevelt has already made himself very popular with the more than 500 newspaper correspondents who will play such an important part in his administration.

is one of our best customers and that she buys many times more from us than we buy from her. Britain owes \$95,550,000. Let us suppose that the Bank of England has that sum on deposit in New York banks. The deposit is in the form of dollars. The Bank of England has obtained the dollars in the following way: Americans have bought goods from British concerns. They have paid dollars to the Bank of England. The bank has kept the dollars in this country. It has thus built up a credit balance in New York.

Now, these dollars might be used to pay the war debt installment. The Bank of England might turn them over to the United States government, having made arrangements with the British government to do so. But if the dollars were used in that way, they could not be used for other purposes. These dollars could not be

The British cabinet met in an unusual session last week to draft a reply to the Department of State's note and to decide upon a definite course of action. Before arriving at definite conclusions, Prime Minister MacDonald consulted with party leaders in order to have the united support of the legislators and people behind the government. George Lansbury, leader of the Labor party in the House of Commons, and Sir Herbert Samuel, leader of the Liberals, were taken into the confidence of the cabinet on this vital matter. Meanwhile, there appeared to be an increasing demand on the part of the British people for default. If the United States insists upon payment now, they said, let us tell her frankly that we cannot pay.

The situation in Paris since the sending of the American note has been one of confusion. No definite action was taken im-





STATE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT IN LONDON

© Wide World Photos

When parliament convenes the king drives from Buckingham Palace to the parliament building with medieval pomp. He ascends the throne and reads an address to parliament in accordance with a centuries old custom.

## British People Experiencing Marked Social Changes

"Within the maturity of people who are only now in middle age, there has been wrought in England a change as fundamental, and possibly as far-reaching, as those entailed by the Black Death, or the Industrial Revolution." This is the way a seasoned newspaperman, Harold E. Scarborough, who has lived in England for many years as London correspondent of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, speaks of changes which have recently made themselves felt in England. He describes these changes and explains the facts of present-day English life at length in his book, "England Muddles Through." These changes are not all apparent to the untrained observer, or to the casual tourist. The outward facts of life in England, as in the United States and elsewhere, are much as they have been. The English are conservative people and do not change their customs or institutions quickly. Though the nation has become as democratic, perhaps, as any on earth during comparatively recent times, the outer forms and ceremonies which prevailed during the old days of royal power are still continued.

One of these ceremonies was witnessed last month when parliament came into session. The king was driven from his palace to the parliament building in royal state, such as is indicated by the picture which we reproduce on this page. He ascended the throne and delivered an address to his parliament in much the same fashion as has prevailed for hundreds of years; only now, of course he read an address which was written by a prime minister who represented the majority of the House of Commons. For a long time the king has thus been sheared of his power, and yet the appearances of medieval royalty are preserved.

Of recent years it appears that there has been a breaking down of class lines in England. For a number of years the country was governed by a party which represented the working class. The prime minister and members of his cabinet came from that class, and this in itself was a revolutionary thing. That party no longer holds the reins of government, but the laboring classes, which during much of English history have been submerged, have had a taste of actual authority and they still play a large part in English politics. This of itself could hardly help but break the lines of class. England, it must be remembered, while it has grown democratic in government, has maintained a

### Trend Toward General Breaking Down of Class Lines Continues as Social Aristocracy Wanes

greater degree of social aristocracy than has prevailed in the United States. There are, of course, classes in every country, including our own, but class distinctions are more clearly marked in England than they are with us.

Mr. Scarborough describes three classes in England which are fairly clearly set off from each other. In the first place there is what is commonly known as the "upper class." It is hard to say definitely just what constitutes membership in the "upper class." We are told that—

The upper class is by general consent considered to include the few thousand holders of titles of nobility or knighthood, and their immediate families. Similarly it includes a large proportion of the more prominent officers of the military services; of the Church; the professions; of those who have attended any of eight or nine public schools or the two senior universities; and a proportion, probably less large, of prominent writers, actors, sculptors, painters, singers, journalists. It takes in men who are in business on a large scale and who have adopted its social and critical standards.

Mr. Scarborough makes the generalization that anyone with an income of 2,000 pounds or more a year (2,000 pounds at the normal rate of exchange amounts to a little less than \$10,000; now it amounts to about \$6,500) is usually regarded as being a member of the upper class. Many who

have more than this are excluded, while many others with titles or landholders are recognized as belonging to the upper class, even though their incomes fall below the figure which has been mentioned.

This upper class has been the backbone of conservatism in England. It is conservative in dress, for the members of this class insist upon correct form of dress for different occasions much more than any considerable class does in the United States. Since the war it is said that the rules as to dress are much less strictly adhered to, however. The upper-class Englishman is likely to be a conservative in politics. He is likely to oppose Irish aspiration for independence, to demand the largest navy in the world, to oppose the payment of unemployment relief to laborers, to look upon the winning of political power by labor groups as a catastrophe. He is likely, also, to be a strong supporter of the Church of England and a believer in aristocracy. In times past he has been suspicious of democracy and of the education of the masses at public expense, though he is relaxing in some of these views.

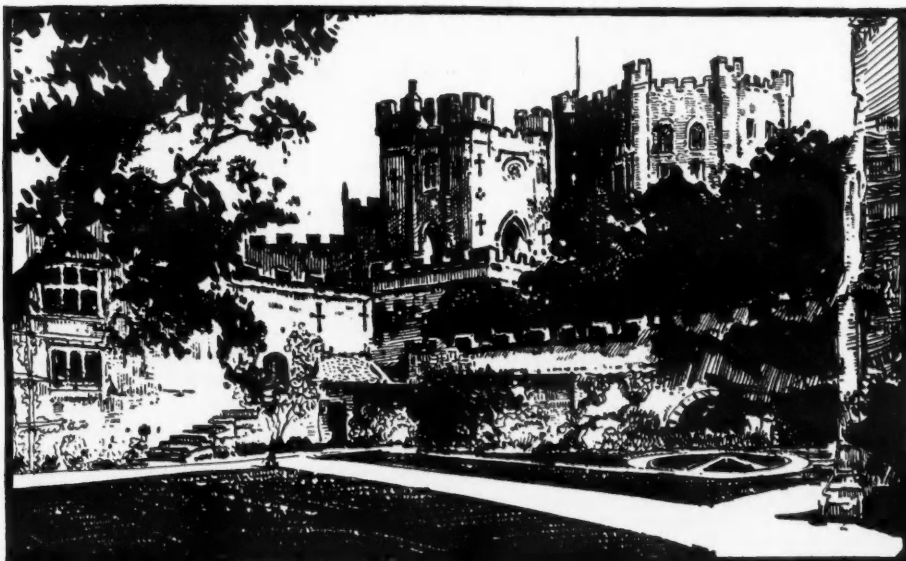
There is a fairly definite "middle class" in England. It is composed largely of white collar workers, of professional men and women, educators, small farmers and business men, except those with very large

establishments. The incomes of members of this class are likely to range from 250 to 2,500 pounds a year, or from about \$800 to \$8,000. Members of the middle class do not, on the whole, live as comfortably as do middle-class Americans. Most of their houses are lacking in refrigerators or furnaces, and yet these English families do rebel against apartment-house life. Except in the largest cities they cling to the single family houses. Perhaps to a greater extent than is the case of peoples elsewhere, they maintain high standards of self-control, honesty, and fair play in all their dealings. They have in the past been devout churchmen and intensely patriotic, but now they are inclining to give less attention to church and are getting away from narrow nationalism in their patriotism. The Liberal party is strong with this class, though many middle class people are Conservatives or Laborites.

About seven-eighths of the population belongs, perhaps, to what is known as the "lower classes"—"factory employees, agricultural laborers, miners; the staffs of such public utilities as railroads, the post office, and the gas and electric supply companies; the rankers in the military services; merchant seamen; household and institutional servants; and a considerable number of the personnel of the distributive trades, of retail establishments, and of business offices. . . . An average family wage for the whole group would range between 50 and 80 shillings weekly" [approximately seven to thirteen dollars at present rates of exchange].

The members of the lower class are not distinctly radical. Few of them are Communists. They are a very orderly people. There is little lawlessness among them. The standard of living is low, and the hope of rising above the station to which they find themselves is not as much alive as it is in the case of American workers. The expectation of better times to come is not as great, for that matter, with the English middle classes as with the American. But the lower classes in England have something which similar classes in the United States do not have; they have the assurance of systematized public support in case of unemployment.

As Soviet Russia nears the end of the Five-Year Plan of industrialization, the entire country is confronted with a serious food shortage, according to the latest dispatches from Moscow. The coming winter is expected to be critical.



—Courtesy Canadian Pacific

ENGLAND—A CASTLE REMINISCENT OF THE MIDDLE AGES



# The AMERICAN OBSERVER



Published weekly throughout the year (except two issues in December) by the CIVIC EDUCATION SERVICE, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

Subscription price, single copy, \$3 a calendar year. In clubs for class use, \$1 per school year or 50 cents per semester.

Entered as second-class matter Sept. 15, 1931, at the Post Office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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VOL. II

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1932

NO. 14

## The Story of the Week

THE last week of November, the period covered by this review, has been an exceptionally full week. Not very often do we find, in times of peace, so many events of first rate importance, so much discussion of significant matters, packed into a few short days. At the top of the list, of course, both in immediate importance and in general interest, is the debt question. But if public attention were not so completely absorbed with debts and with the dramatic conferences dealing with that issue, the negotiations at Geneva concerning the Japanese aggression in Manchuria would hold a commanding place in the public mind. At the same time Germany is undergoing a first rate parliamentary crisis. And then there are the issues of domestic politics. The lines of battle are being drawn over prohibition; farm relief is emerging as a subject of controversy in the forthcoming short session of Congress; hunger and distress marchers are threatening to converge on the national capital. An anxious week this has been, but by no means a dull one.

THERE is no question as to the anxiety among all well informed persons. And there seems to be ground for anxiety. During the last week I have talked with several men who understand the problem of international debts as well as anyone in the country does. These men are in close touch with international developments. I asked each of them these questions: "Is there a real and immediate danger that if the debtor nations are obliged to make the December payments to America or if they are forced to default, the result may be a financial crisis similar to that which followed the failure of the Austrian Credit Bank in Vienna in the spring of 1931?" "If this happens is there danger that the world, including the United States, will be plunged deeper into depression?" In each case I received an affirmative answer. There was no attempt to predict. There were no positive assertions as to the course events will take. That course is admittedly uncertain. But there was agreement that we are in the presence of a serious crisis, that the debts are unsettling the financial situation in several countries, that there is danger of a wave of fear, that

confidence may be further shaken and that, as a result, currencies in several countries may depreciate and prices may fall. These price reductions will almost inevitably spread if they occur.

In that case it is quite possible that the hope of recovery may be deferred, that business may grow worse instead of better, that more millions may be thrown out of work, that deeper misery may prevail. A setback of that kind occurred a year ago last summer, at a time when it appeared that recovery was on the way. It came because of a breaking of confidence which began in Europe, upset currencies there and started a general price decline. Such a thing may not happen now. None with whom I have talked asserts positively that it will. But they do think there is danger that another serious setback may occur as a result of the enforced transfer of gold from countries which need all their gold in order to protect their currencies.

For that reason practically all economists are now in favor of allowing the debtor nations to postpone their December payments, and of inaugurating then a careful reconsideration of the debts and of the effects of debt payments upon business conditions throughout the world. Many of the large newspapers have joined the movement. So have numbers of industrial leaders.

I have been speaking of the opinions of economists and of men who, though not directly concerned with politics, are careful students of international problems and relations. When one talks with members of Congress, he hears a very different story. Both Republicans and Democrats in Congress are almost unanimously against a postponement of the debts or a revision of them. When they discuss the subject of debts they emphasize a different set of facts from those which the economists and the students of international relations consider. Whereas the economists are thinking about the effects of the debt payments on foreign currencies, on business confidence, on international trade, and finally upon general business conditions, the political leaders are almost without exception thinking of the state of the United States treasury, of our huge deficit, of our need for more money, of the difficulty of raising the money, and of the desirability of obtaining money from our European debtors. Rarely do members of Congress speak at length about those effects of debt payments which the economists stress.

This is not strange. The facts relating to the effects of transferring gold from one country to another are complex. In order to understand them, one must give the subject careful and sustained attention. Our political leaders are very busy men. Certain national problems such as those connected with the balancing of the budget and the raising of revenue, are forced upon their minds. And they must give much time to finding out what their constituents expect of them. They do not have as much time as the economists do to study such complex problems as international

exchange. It is quite understandable, therefore, that we should find competent students of international economics warning that danger and possible disaster attend a certain governmental policy, and that we find members of Congress and other political leaders ignoring the warnings.

WHEN this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER reaches its readers the Assembly of the League of Nations will be in session. A special meeting of the Assembly was called for December 6 by the Council of the League. It was called for the purpose of deciding what action, if any, the League should take concerning the invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese and the setting up of the independent state of Manchukuo.

November 21 the Council of the League listened to Japan's reply to the Lytton report. The Japanese delegate, M. Matsuo, presented his government's case. He declared in contradiction to the League report, that Japan had acted in self-defense and had not gone beyond the necessities of self-defense. He compared the action of Japan in going into Manchuria with the American expeditions into Mexico in 1916 and 1917. He asserted that the independence movement in Manchuria was genuine and spontaneous and was not the result of pressure from Japan. In the debate which followed this reply, the Japanese representative declared that the new state of Manchukuo must be recognized and that Japan would not, under any circumstances, accept a League decision which undertook to undo any of Japan's work in Manchuria. After a week's debate, the Council referred the whole matter to the Assembly and there the issue as to what the League shall do about the Japanese aggression will be threshed out.

The debate before the League Council indicated clearly that Japan is in an uncompromising mood, that the military forces in that country are in complete control and that these forces are prepared to challenge the League's authority. If the League Assembly upholds the Lytton report and demands that Japan relinquish her hold upon Manchuria, it seems probable that Japan will withdraw from the League of Nations.

THE German parliamentary crisis continues at the end of the month. President Hindenburg has been unable to select a cabinet which can command a majority in the Reichstag. The trouble is that no party has a majority of the members and the parties are so hostile to each other that they cannot bring themselves to cooperate in the formation of a cabinet composed of representatives of the different parties. On November 21 President Hindenburg offered to make Adolf Hitler chancellor, provided Hitler agreed to make no important changes of governmental policy respecting national defense, international relations, the expansion of the currency and certain other problems. In other words Hitler and his party might administer the affairs of government provided they did not undertake to put into effect the most important features of the Nazi program. Hitler refused to accept these conditions. It seems, therefore, that a cabinet commanding a majority of the Reichstag cannot at present be formed.

If such a cabinet is not formed shortly, President Hindenburg will probably appoint as chancellor some one like von Schleicher, the minister of defense in the von Papen cabinet, or von Papen himself, who will be expected to govern the country in a non-partisan way, avoiding controversial party problems until after Christmas. The Germans have a way of adjourning bitter political discussion during the Christmas holidays and a political truce is now under consideration.

PRESIDENT-ELECT ROOSEVELT, while in Washington last week, conferred with Democratic leaders and helped



THE GRABBER'S ANSWER  
—Kirby in N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM

to lay plans for the short session of Congress. He wishes the Democrats to press during the session for a revenue bill which will provide for the collection of as much money as the government is required to spend, thus balancing the budget, for the legalization of beer and the taxing of it, and for a farm relief measure. If all these measures are put through before the fourth of March, the new president will probably feel that he will not need to call a special session of Congress. He will then have the opportunity of getting started at his work without any interference from Congress. Incoming presidents nearly always feel that they can get a better start if they do not have a Congress on hand. This gives them much more freedom to carry out their policies.

But if the budget is not balanced, Mr. Roosevelt will no doubt feel that he must call Congress into special session to enact legislation for the raising of more money. He will also feel that he must call Congress together to take action if nothing is done for the farmers this winter. And he indicated during the campaign that he would call Congress in special session to legalize beer if action of that kind had not been taken before. It is easy, therefore, to understand the president-elect's eagerness to have these matters attended to during the short session.

IT has been decided in advance that the first important matter to come before Congress after its meeting on December 5 will be the subject of prohibition. A serious attempt is to be made to legalize beer. The plan under consideration at this time—a few days before the meeting of Congress—is that the beer bill will be shelved for the time being in order to take up a motion to submit a constitutional amendment repealing the eighteenth amendment. The House of Representatives may suspend the rules by a two-thirds vote on the first or third Monday of a month when it is in session and take up any measure it sees fit, allowing but twenty minutes' debate on each side of the question. It is proposed to put that procedure into effect and pass the resolution submitting the prohibition repeal amendment.

Opponents of prohibition are very anxious to get the new amendment submitted to the states this winter. Forty-one of the state legislatures meet in January. If the repeal amendment is submitted to these legislatures while they are still in session, they can immediately provide for the conventions to pass upon ratification. If the amendment is not submitted this winter there will be no hope of its ratification until after the legislatures meet next time, which in most cases will be two years hence. All the state legislatures meet in January, except that of Florida, which meets in April; of Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri and Virginia, which meet in January, 1934; of Louisiana, which meets in May, 1934; and of Alabama, where there will not be another session until January, 1935.—W. E. M.



THERE'S MORE TO IT THAN JUST THE HONEY  
—Talbot in Washington News



## WITH AUTHORS AND EDITORS

We read old books for their excellence, but new ones to share in the mental life of our time.—SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE.

### "The Boundless"

Miss Ernestine Parsons, a teacher of history in the Colorado Springs, Colorado, high school, finds time for painting and for writing in addition to her work in the classroom. Several of her paintings have gained wide recognition, and her poetry is equally appreciated. Miss Parsons, who has been a friend of the Civic Education Service papers from their earliest numbers, permits us to pass on to our readers this bit of verse, at once thoughtful and imaginative:

No words can plumb the depth of silence  
For silence has no word.  
Silence holds the meaning of all sound;  
Is in relation to what is heard  
As white is to all color.

Silence is boundless as the space  
Beyond the whirling stars;  
The waters of the widest sea are naught  
To this, which knows no form,—no bars  
Of size and shape to its infinity.

Silence is the refuge of the soul;  
In this illimitable air  
The spirit breathes more free, and learns again  
To live in world of when and where;  
To find adventure in the hours.

### Biographical Sketches

Phillips Russell, author of "Benjamin Franklin, the First Civilized American," "Emerson, the Wisest American" and "John Paul Jones," has brought together a number of biographical sketches, under the collective title, "The Harvesters" (New York: Brentano's. \$3.50.) Within the covers of this book there are short lives of seven men, widely separated in time and place, but related by the fact that each began, furthered or completed a harvest—a harvest of thought or deed, or both, in a way to influence human desti-



THOMAS JEFFERSON

From an illustration in "Harvesters" by Phillips Russell

nies. The subjects of these studies, with the descriptive term applied to each by the author are: Frederick Caesar, Foe of Popes and Cities; Leonardo da Vinci, Gods Grandson; Copernicus, Disrupter of Creeds; Luther, Former and Reformer; Cortes, the Collector; James Watt, the Power Maker; Thomas Jefferson, Social Architect.

Mr. Russell is interested chiefly in giving an analysis of the characters he is treating and of their contributions to the times in which they lived. He does, however, give enough of the facts pertaining to the lives of his subjects so that one, unfamiliar with their lives, will be given an adequate picture. In the chapter dealing with Jefferson, for example, we learn something of the ancestry of the third president; we learn that, as a sandy-haired, freckle-faced, loose-jointed boy he was interested in architecture and drawing and music, that he later became a moderately successful farmer but that late in life he

lost everything and was enabled to keep his home because of gifts sent to him by his admirers, that he served in the Virginia House of Burgesses, wrote the Declaration of Independence, was a shrewd political organizer. We learn something of his political theories before and during his presidency. Especially interesting is the account of his opposition to machinery and the substitution of a city dwelling for a rural civilization.

Biography lends vividness and interest to history, and books such as "Harvesters," containing a number of character interpretations, are both enjoyable and valuable. The sketches are short enough so that one can be read at a single sitting, and long enough to give quite satisfactory pictures of the men who are chosen for study.

### Indian Life

"Wah 'Kon Tah," by John Joseph Mathews (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. \$2.50) is a record of Indian life written by an Indian who grew up among his people and later took degrees from the University of Oklahoma and Oxford. His is a story of recent conditions among the Osages. It is laid in Oklahoma, and the time is the period from the eighteen-seventies to the years following the discovery of oil in the Indian lands and the sudden acquisition of wealth by many of the tribesmen.

For his background of fact Mr. Mathews refers to the experience of an Indian agent whose headquarters were at Pawhuska, Oklahoma. This agent, Major Laban J. Miles, an uncle of President Hoover, took his post in 1878 when the Oklahoma country was a wild prairie, peopled by Indians and infested by dangerous white desperadoes. Major Miles kept a diary, and this record is used as a source book by Mr. Mathews.

For supplies or for money to pay to the members of the tribe Major Miles had to go to the Kansas border towns, to Coffeyville or perhaps Arkansas City. These trips were dangerous. But these exploits do not furnish the chief interest of the book. Its value as well as its interest lies in the story of the relations and conversations of the major with the Indians. In the accounts of these associations one finds characterizations of individual Indians and of traits of Indian character. He finds descriptions of Indian customs and beliefs. There is much that is laudable about the characters here depicted, and there is much that is beautiful in their traditions. It seems a pity that this culture was so rudely broken up and that the Osages were so suddenly plunged into the midst of an alien civilization.

### Our Constitution Criticized

William Kay Wallace has written a stimulating and challenging book which he calls "Our Obsolete Constitution" (New York: John Day Company. \$2.00). He contends that the Constitution is not suited to the needs of the present day. He undertakes to show that it is a hindrance to the sort of legislation we need. It was adopted, he says, largely for the purpose of protecting individuals and property from unjust action by the government. In that day when people thought of tyranny they thought of it in connection with governments. The best way, then, to insure freedom of citizens, was to place restrictions upon government. But now conditions have changed. In the first place governments are more democratic; more under the control of the people. In the second place powerful forces—corporations—have arisen outside the government and now the people need a free and untrammelled government to protect them against the new forms of industrial tyranny.

Mr. Wallace does not stop with an adverse criticism. He tells how he thinks the Constitution should be changed. Here



IN THE TRADER'S STORE

A drawing by May Todd Aaron in "Wah 'Kon Tah."

is a suggestion as to the general structure of the government under the proposed Constitution: Do away with the 48 states. Create nine regional states, each state to elect four or six representatives to a board of directors of the United States. This board of directors should have legislative powers, with authority to settle all national problems, unhindered by constitutional restrictions. It should have power to elect a president who would have full executive power. Each of the nine states should be similarly governed.

Perhaps few will agree fully with these suggestions. But one can at least come to a better understanding of the Constitution and its suitability to present needs by having his attention called to other constitutional forms which might be substituted.

### Television

Here is a book which should prove itself of practical use for boys with a mechanical bent who are interested in television. "Experimental Television," by A. Frederick Collins (Boston: Lothrop, Lee and Shephard. \$2.50), explains fully and carefully what television is, and it gives complete directions for the building of television receiving sets and for the carrying on of experiments by amateurs. There are thirty-five licensed telecasting stations in the United States, the author says, and twelve are already active. They send out programs each night and the images are seen each night by thousands.

The telecasting apparatus is very complex, we are told, but the receiving instruments are simple and can be constructed by any boy who has a knack for such things, provided he has some instruction. This instruction the book undertakes to give. The directions are clear, and the descriptive matter in the book is not harder to understand than is the material contained in an ordinary high school physics text.

### After the Depression

What prospect is there that when the depression is over we will return to the relatively prosperous times which we enjoyed before the crash of 1929? Mr. George Soule examines some of the possibilities in an article "After Revival—What?" in the December *Harpers*. As he sees it, the evidence points to the likelihood that prosperous conditions will not come back unless some sort of economic control or planning is devised. The conditions which made for genuine revival after our other depressions are no longer present, he declares. Farmers and laborers, for example, suffer now from depleted incomes so that their expanding purchasing power is not likely to lead the way to prosperity as has often been the case in the past. The fact of overproduction or underconsumption is likely to

continue unless a means of bringing production and consumption into balance is found.

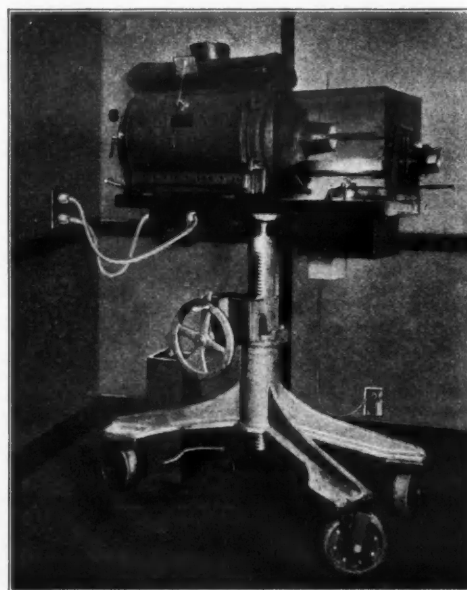
### "Riverhead"

Robert Hillyer, a well-known American poet and professor of English at Harvard University, has recently published his first novel, "Riverhead" (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50). This novel is obviously the work of a poet. Not only is it written in the delicate language of poetry but it also contains a marked degree of symbolism, seldom present in works of prose.

The main plot itself is not complicated. Mr. Hillyer tells the story of a young man canoeing up a river in Connecticut to Riverhead, the estate of his godfather. He makes several stops en route, renewing the acquaintance of his childhood sweetheart, attending a religious revival meeting in the open spaces, visiting working classes in an industrial town and finally joining his godfather at Riverhead where he spends several days.

Something very unusual happens to Paul Sharon at the head of the river. He undergoes a complete spiritual change. Thus when he makes the return trip down the river he no longer looks at people and life in general in the same light. In his stops, which are the same as those made a few days earlier, he acts differently toward the same people. He attempts to rectify the mistakes made a few days earlier.

The recital of these outward events makes a delightful tale which everyone can understand. But when the reader tries to get at the hidden meaning, the symbolism, of the author he is at sea. One is left in the dark as to the nature of the change at Riverhead or as to whom or what the godfather is supposed to represent. Notwithstanding this uncertainty of interpretation, "Riverhead" is an enjoyable and worthwhile novel.



TELEVISION SCANNING EQUIPMENT

(From an illustration in "Experimental Television")





**I**F THE study of history is to mean very much to us it must help us to gain an understanding of the difficult times in which we live, and it must give us ideas of the trend of things so that we can map out the future more successfully. The student of history may well inquire whether the books or the chapters he is reading are actually giving him a background for the study of those facts and problems with which he needs today to be familiar. He may make that inquiry in the case of each period of history which he approaches. He may make it when he sets out to study the earlier years of the nineteenth century.

It is possible to spend much time on this period without coming to grips with problems which are permanently significant. It is possible to dwell at length upon the political controversies of the Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Adams administrations, upon the foreign disputes and the War of 1812, without finding out much that would help one to understand the situation which America faces at the present time. But if the studies of political events are preceded by a review of the industrial changes of the early nineteenth century, the political facts become more meaningful, and the student finds himself examining a set of industrial changes which have continued to the present day and which are matters of great concern at the close of the first third of the twentieth century.

At the time when Thomas Jefferson was maturing his political philosophy, America was rural. In 1790 there were only six towns in the country with a population of 8,000 or more. Nearly all the people lived on farms. Jefferson wanted that situation to continue. His dream was that America should always be predominantly rural. He thought that the farmers should produce enough for consumption at home and no more. They should not be dependent upon foreign markets. This seems prophetic advice just now, when the farmers of the nation are being advised to cut their production so as to meet home demands and so as not to have to depend upon demand from abroad. Jefferson held also that

as a country developed manufacturing and became industrialized, employment would become uncertain. Society would not be stable as it was in a community of farmers. This, too, appears to be prophetic at a time when we are being warned that the increasing mechanization of industry is rendering employment so insecure as to constitute a threat to standards of living everywhere. Jefferson's warning seems now to have been most striking.

But Jefferson had in his own make-up something which was contradictory to his ideals. He was a tinkerer and an inventor.

He spent much of his time devising methods of increasing agricultural production. He was not the only tinkerer of his time.

One of his closest associates during his student days had a friend across the water who was also an inventor. This man, of whom, no doubt, Jefferson heard a great deal, was James Watt. And as a result of his tinkering the steam engine was developed and put to use. As the years went by steam power was applied to the processes of one industry after another, and it became apparent that the rural era of our history was coming to an end.

As steam power was brought into use and as expensive machinery came to displace hand power, it became profitable to establish factories where the machinery could be used and to bring great numbers of laborers to the factories to use the machines. Production was cheapened, so that many manufacturing operations which had been done by hand on the farms as by-products, were no longer profitable. The sons and daughters of the farmers were drawn away to the cities where the factories were. This movement was further encouraged by the fact that many new appliances came into use on the farms. There were mowing machines and hayracks and cultivators and drills and plows, and after a while, reapers. And these new implements made it possible for a smaller number of persons to till the soil. Hence there

was a surplus of labor on the farms, which flowed naturally to the cities.

Whenever an important labor-saving machine, or implement of any kind, was invented and put to use, there were complaints from laborers whom the machine displaced. There were fears lest the workers might not find employment, lest the machines should eat up the opportunities of men and women who were obliged to labor in order that they might live.

When the reaper was introduced (see illustration on this page) there were violent protests. In many cases reapers were burned in the fields by workers who feared displacement. To all these complaints against the introduction of the labor-saving machines, the economists had a ready answer. They declared that new machinery makes possible a greater total production, that it frees the laborers to engage in other enterprises, that as labor is displaced by machines, production is cheapened. Prices fall. Goods are easier to obtain. People will consume more of the goods. The same amount of labor will be employed, the only difference being the higher standard of life.

For many decades things appeared to work out as the economists predicted. This was true during the whole of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth. During all this time there was free land in the West. Displaced laborers could always go west and find new opportunities. There was a frontier. The country had not yet filled up. As new machines took the place of labor, labor found occupation elsewhere. Production increased mightily. The standards of living rose.

Can that process be continued indefinitely? A few years ago this question was being answered in the affirmative by practically all those who gave it their attention. Today many thoughtful economists are doubtful. The invention of new processes has proceeded lately at an ac-

celerated rate. Human labor has been displaced to an alarming degree. The increase of opportunities for labor in the manufacturing industries has not been as rapid as the displacement of labor has been. The result has been that even before the depression struck the country, the total number of workers employed in the manufacturing industries was decreasing. A large number of persons were employed in certain relatively new industries. The filling stations, for example, were taking up much of the slack, and more people were going into personal service of one kind or another. But there was a question as to whether such relief was more than temporary. And it should be remembered that even in the so-called prosperous years, unemployment was becoming a very serious problem. Today about one-fourth of all the workers of America, and something like the same percentage of the industrial workers in other nations, are idle. And more is being produced than the people are consuming. There are many who doubt whether, taking into account the new labor-saving devices which may be applied, full employment of those now out of work will be called for, even when the present crisis passes. If these doubts are justified, the remedy will have to come through economic planning, through a shortening of the working day, through an increase in the wages of labor, so that the mass of the people can consume as much as they are producing, through a planning and regulation of production by the major industries.

It is not our purpose on this occasion to argue the point as to whether or not the present crisis is of such nature as to require the remedies we have suggested. We wish merely to point out that the Industrial Revolution, which had its beginning early in our national history, has continued and is continuing, that the problems faced by the people in Jefferson's day are still with us in different phases, and that the early history of the nation, if rightly studied, furnishes a background for a better understanding of conditions which prevail in our own day.



AN IMPORTANT STEP IN THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION  
Young Cyrus McCormick demonstrating his newly invented reaper to some farmers on July 25, 1831. (From an old lithograph reproduced in "These United States," by Gertrude Hartman, Macmillan).



## Careers of Roosevelt and Col. Howe Closely Linked

### Colonel Has For Years Been Adviser to President-Elect

When President-elect Roosevelt moves to the White House, he will be accompanied by his political secretary, Colonel Louis Howe, who has been associated with him for twenty-two years. Colonel Howe is really more than Roosevelt's political secretary; he is a close personal friend to the entire Roosevelt family,—in fact, he is practically considered a member of the family. His chief ambition for a number of years has been to see Roosevelt in the White House, and he has worked arduously toward this end.

Colonel Howe started his career as a newspaper correspondent. His father, who was the Saratoga representative of the New York *Herald-Tribune*, turned over this position to his son when the latter had reached the age of seventeen. Those who were skeptical as to whether a young boy could hold such a responsible position were soon enlightened, as young Howe displayed keen ability and mature judgment even at this early age. It was not long before his position took him to various parts of New York and in this way he became very familiar with state politics—an attainment which enabled him later to advise and assist Roosevelt's upward climb in politics in New York state.

Colonel Howe met Roosevelt soon after the latter was out of college. Mr. Howe, who is older than Roosevelt, was then a seasoned reporter. His prospects were good for a brilliant future in the journalistic field. But after meeting Roosevelt, he was so impressed by his alert mind, liked him so well personally, and agreed so wholeheartedly with his ideas of government, that he immediately became his secretary.

When President Wilson appointed Roosevelt assistant secretary of the navy, Roosevelt made Colonel Howe his assistant. When the Democratic convention nominated Roosevelt for the vice-presidency in 1920, Colonel Howe accompanied him on all his speaking tours, taking care of all Roosevelt's personal matters and advising

him on the preparation of his speeches.

Several years later, Roosevelt was attacked by infantile paralysis. It seemed as if his public career were doomed. But he did not give up, nor did Colonel Howe who had intended to go back into commercial life, but gave up the idea and went to live with the Roosevelt family. He not only managed a large part of Roosevelt's business and political affairs, but he also acted as an adopted father to the rest of the family. He has lived with the Roosevelts since that time; and during the recent presidential campaign he was Roosevelt's closest associate.

#### DR. WILLIAM H. WELCH

It frequently happens that political leaders get more attention and receive greater acclaim than the real importance of their work justifies, and that leaders in other equally, or more, important fields of endeavor receive less. This lack of attention is especially noticed in the realm of medical science. The reason for this discrimination lies in the fact that politicians deal with dramatic problems—problems which are fairly understandable and which appeal generally to ordinary men and women. But studies in medicine are technical. They can be understood only by those who have engaged in long years of study and practice. So people generally do not know the meaning of a forward step in medical science whereas they do have a better understanding of most political problems and issues.

Therefore we do not hear much about the achievements of those who are working so untiringly and who are sacrificing the greater part of their lives in order that the world may be a healthier place in which to live. Humanity owes a tremendous debt to those relatively unknown men of science whose efforts have greatly diminished the suffering and misery of the nation and have during the last century doubled the average length of life.

A man who has contributed a vast amount to the advancement of medical science education is Dr. William H. Welch. He is often called the "dean of American medicine." He has witnessed and actively participated in the great revolution in medicine brought about by bacteriology and experimental science, his own scientific work being mainly in the fields of pathology, bacteriology, and hygiene.

Dr. Welch, who is eighty-one years of age, comes from a family of physicians. His grandfather, father, and four uncles were prominent in the medical world, though they did not nearly attain the heights which he has. Dr. Welch graduated in arts at Yale College in 1870, and in medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University in 1875. He then studied medicine in European laboratories, chiefly in Germany, for three years. Returning to America he established a pioneer laboratory for pathology at the Bellevue Hospital Medical College in New York and six years later, in 1884, he became professor of pathology at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. In 1916 he became director of the Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. After ten years of service in this office he was appointed professor of the history of medicine in the Johns Hopkins University.

#### HENRY T. RAINEY

Now that John N. Garner has been elected vice-president, someone will have to be chosen to take his place as speaker of the House. There are a number of representatives who are contending for this seat, one of whom is Henry T. Rainey, white-haired, elderly leader of the Democrats in the House. His appearance is more that of an artist than a politician, partly due to the fact that he always wears a flowing tie.

A native of Carrollton, Illinois, Mr. Rainey graduated from Amherst College, Massachusetts, in 1883. He then attended the law department of Northwestern University in Chicago. Upon finishing this course he was admitted to the bar. At that time he was extremely enthusiastic about practicing law, and he did so for a number of years. Later, however, he became interested in farming, and that is now his occupation when the House is not in session.

He has been a member of Congress since 1903, with the exception of one term when he was defeated. While he has not at any given time been the outstanding member of the House, he has built a reputation of loyalty to his party and is well liked even among his political opponents.

Mr. Rainey, engaged in farming himself, is naturally sympathetic toward any measure which holds out hope of improving the lot of farmers.

## William Green Dominates Annual A. F. of L. Meeting

### Labor Leader Has Long Fought For Interests of Workers

The American Federation of Labor held its annual convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, a few days ago. The president of this organization, William Green, delivered a stirring address to the delegates declaring that labor would strive with all its strength to compel the universal adoption in industry of the five-day week and the six-hour day. Mr. Green said that labor's patience with industrial management was at an end and that the Federation's policy from now on would be to resort to "forceful methods" if necessary to establish the shorter work week. He said that the federal government should set an example to private industry by establishing the 30-hour week in its departments.

Mr. Green has participated in labor movements since boyhood. When he was eighteen years old he quit school and went to work in the mines with his father. Almost immediately he took an active part in the miners' union. From 1900 to 1906 he was a sub-district president and from 1906 to 1910 he was Ohio district president of the United Mine Workers. In these executive positions he demonstrated an innate ability for leadership. He was popular with his subordinates and with the rank and file of miners. He won their respect and loyalty by convincing them so thoroughly of his ability and of his earnest desire to better their working conditions.

In 1912 he was elected international secretary and treasurer of the United Mine Workers. A year later he was elected vice-president and member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor. Then in 1924 he was elected president of this organization, a position which he has held since that time.

Mr. Green is considered a conservative among labor leaders. He has never stood for radical policies to achieve his goal. That is why his recent statement to the delegates attending the A. F. of L. was rather startling.



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COL. LOUIS  
HOWE



Science News Service  
WILLIAM  
HENRY WELCH



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HENRY T.  
RAINEY



WILLIAM  
GREEN

## National Election and War Debt Crisis Feature November Chronology

November 1. London police and unemployed marchers clashed in streets as latter attempted to storm the House of Commons. Both parties entered upon the final week of the campaign with increased activity.

November 3. The British House of Commons ratified the Ottawa trade agreements of last summer. President Hoover began his final campaign tour.

November 5. The Italian cabinet approved Mussolini's decree granting freedom to political prisoners. Roosevelt and Smith closed Democratic campaign at Madison Square Garden, New York City.

November 6. Elections for the Reichstag in Germany were held, with no party gaining a majority sufficiently large to control that body. Paraguay continued its gains in the Gran Chaco dispute by capturing another important fort from the Bolivians.

November 7. Norman H. Davis, American disarmament delegate, conferred with Mussolini in Rome. The Supreme Court decreed that the Scottsboro case should be returned to the Alabama court for a new trial. The fifteenth anniversary of the Russian revolution was celebrated in Moscow.

November 8. The Democratic party

swept the country in the national election. It won the presidency, overwhelming control of the House, a substantial majority in the Senate, and increased its number of governors.

November 9. Great Britain dispatched a note to the American government, requesting postponement of the December 15 payment on its war debt and asking reconsideration of the entire problem.

November 11. France sent a note on war debts to the United States, requesting postponement.

November 13. President Hoover invited Governor Roosevelt to confer with him at the White House on the war debt problem.

November 14. The French disarmament plan was made public.

November 15. Political drays prepared to prevent action on prohibition during the short session of Congress.

November 16. The Prince of Wales visited Belfast, capital of Northern Ireland, to dedicate the new parliament buildings.

November 17. The third round table conference on India opened in London. Mahatma Gandhi and representatives of his party were not in attendance. Franz von Papen and his entire cabinet tendered their resignations to President Hindenburg.

November 18. President Hoover met

with his cabinet in special session to discuss government finances. They agreed upon a program of economy to save \$700,000,000 during the next fiscal year.

November 19. Senator Wesley L. Jones, leading dry, died. President von Hindenburg conferred with party leaders on a new German cabinet.

November 20. The executive council of the American Federation of Labor recommended unemployment insurance under the auspices of state governments.

November 21. The Council of the League of Nations, meeting in special session, took up the Lytton report on Manchuria. Japan presented its reply to the report, denying the charges made against it and declaring that it has acted in self-defense. Adolf Hitler, head of the German National Socialist party, refused to accept the chancellorship of Germany under the conditions laid down by the president.

November 22. President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt met at the White House in a history-making conference to discuss the war debt situation.

November 23. President Hoover conferred with leaders of both parties in both houses on the question of war debts and government finances. The House Ways and Means Committee agreed to open

hearings on modification of the Volstead Act on December 7. Japan faced an internal political crisis as business and financial interests opposed the new budget, largest in Japanese history. The increase was due to heavy military expenditures.

November 24. Bitterness between China and Japan increased as China accused Japanese troops of brutality in dealing with inhabitants of Manchuria. President von Hindenburg considered possible cabinet heads after the refusal of Hitler to accept.

November 25. Governor Roosevelt, at Warm Springs, Georgia, considered farm relief plans to be pushed during the coming session of Congress. The British pound slumped to the lowest level in twelve years upon the news that the December 15 debt payments must be met. Democratic and Republican leaders in the House planned a vote on repeal of the eighteenth amendment the opening day of Congress.

November 26. Japan agreed to the League Council's decision that the Lytton report should be referred to the Assembly for consideration.

November 27. Prime Minister MacDonald conferred with three leaders of his cabinet on the British debt reply to Washington.



# Many Serious Problems Confront Lame Duck Session of Congress

(Concluded from page 1)

tives to elect, no committee heads to choose, the first days of exciting uncertainty are lacking.

However, the meeting of Congress is always an interesting and important event. There is always considerable speculation as to what legislation may be adopted or rejected. There is always the certainty of heated debates, the possibility of controversies between the president and Congress and of astute maneuvers on the part of Congressmen for or against certain bills. Apart from this, the manner in which Congress functions, the positions held by various members, the route bills must travel before they may be adopted, the many details of parliamentary procedure—all these make a story well worth the telling.

## Procedure

Let us look for a moment at the House of Representatives. It is a large body of 435 members. They sit together in a great chamber where a speaker must have a booming voice to make himself heard. Representatives are continually going back and forth, paying little attention to what is being said and chatting informally with their fellow members.

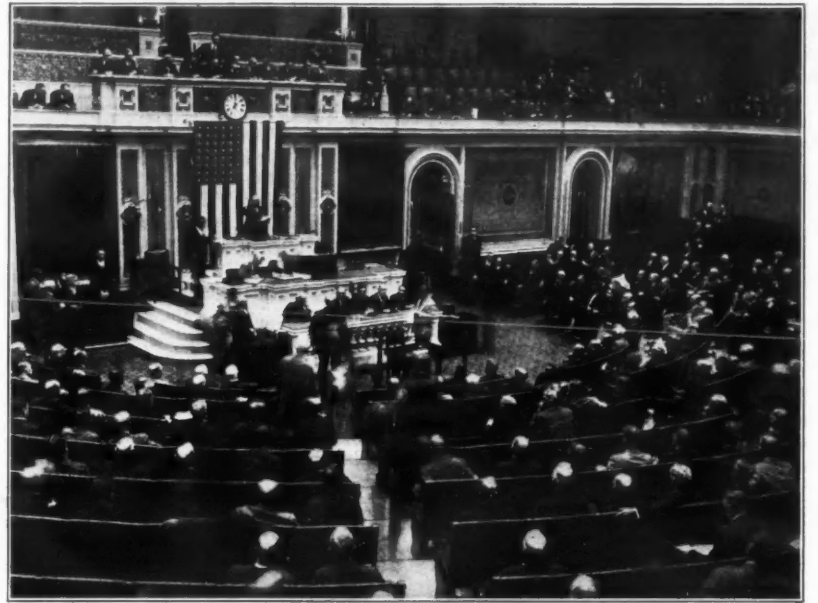
This is possible because the procedure in Congress is largely a matter of form. Most of the real work is done behind the scenes in the numerous committees. The House is too large a body to function smoothly. If every bill had to be studied by every member hardly anything would ever be accomplished. Accordingly the work is parcelled out among committees. These groups examine, revise and recommend if they see fit the bills which have been proposed. Thus, the thousands of bills submitted at each session are sorted out and passed upon first by special groups which may work more quickly and more efficiently than the cumbersome House. The leading committees are on ways and means—which prepares tariff and tax bills—appropriations, rules, banking and currency, interstate and foreign commerce, rivers and harbors, military affairs, naval affairs, post offices and post roads, public lands, labor and pensions.

Whenever a congressman wishes to introduce a bill, he hands it to the clerk if it is a bill dealing with the private affairs of an individual or concern, or to the speaker if it is a bill dealing with general public affairs. After that the bill is referred to the appropriate committee for consideration. Then its fate usually rests with that committee. If it wishes, that body considers it, holds hearings at which almost anyone may be heard, and, if it favors the bill, reports it out favorably with or without amendments as the case may be. Once a bill has gone this far it is placed on the calendar for debate and action by the House at some future date. It then has a chance of coming up for a vote if the calendar is not too crowded and if there are enough leaders in favor of it.

If passed by the House the bill then goes to the Senate where it goes through much the same routine. The Senate may approve it without amendments—in which case it goes to the president for his signature. However, if the Senate chooses to amend the bill, it must go back to the House for reconsideration. Should the House refuse to accept the Senate's amendments the bill then goes into a joint conference of senators and representatives who seek to iron out the differences. Usually, they come to an agreement and the bill is then passed by both houses without further amendment.

## "Killed" Legislation

These, briefly, are the hurdles a bill must traverse if it is to pass Congress. It is apparent that the road is not an easy one to travel. The bill may not get further than the committee. In fact most of them "die" in committee where they are not even considered but tucked safely away in pigeonholes forever to be forgotten. It is estimated that about 30,000 measures are introduced at each Congress. A very large percentage of them never come up for a vote. In very many cases this is so intended. Thousands of bills are introduced, with no thought of being passed, but merely to please the constituents of congressmen. However, if a



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THE OPENING OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE SEVENTY-SECOND CONGRESS  
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bill should be reported upon favorably by a committee there are still many chances that it will be "killed." It is placed on the calendar of the House at the discretion of the Committee on Rules. This committee may, if it wishes, prevent it from ever coming up for a vote. Or, it may die in the Senate or through disagreement between House and Senate.

What we have said applies to the House of Representatives but approximately the same holds good for the Senate. A bill may go through the Senate first and then pass to the House. Any bill, except one for raising revenue which must originate in the House, may be presented first either in the House or in the Senate.

It is apparent that the machinery for the handling of laws is intricate and complicated. In order to direct its functioning the House and Senate are very skillfully organized. The party having the majority dominates the committees, the members of which are usually chosen at a caucus, or conference, of party members before the convening of a new congress. In this way the majority party controls the flow of legislation. And a smaller group within the party keeps an even closer control over the bills which may come up for a vote.

## Speaker

The foremost personage in this group—taking the House again as an example—is the speaker, the presiding officer. He has a great deal of influence and prestige although he no longer possesses the power he once enjoyed when he appointed the chairmen and members of the committees and in reality ruled the House. However, he does keep an effective check on the House when it is in session. He may recognize or refuse recognition to members wishing to speak. He may refuse to put motions before the House if he thinks they are intended to obstruct proceedings. He may rule members out of order and make decisions on questions of parliamentary law. The speaker has a great deal to say about what happens on the floor of the House of Representatives.

In addition to the speaker the Committee on Rules plays a great part in steering laws through the House. As has been stated, it is this committee which decides what measures shall be considered on the floor, how much debate shall be devoted to them and when a vote shall be taken.

Next in line are the chairmen of the various committees. All these men have great influence. They have much to do with deciding whether a bill shall be reported out by their committees or not. And finally there is the party floor leader. Next to the speaker he is the one individual who has the most power in Congress. It is his duty to contact with party members and to learn their views on the various questions coming up before the House. He knows how they are going to vote

before the time comes. If party leaders are against some bill he rallies members against it; if party leaders are for it he marshals them in favor. He is the generalissimo behind the lines.

This, briefly, is how the House functions. The Senate carries on its business in much the same way except that there is no speaker. The vice-president is the presiding officer. He has no power and merely performs the routine work of directing proceedings in the Senate.

## THOUGHTS AND SMILES

Mr. Garner's silence during the campaign just meant that he knew what was going to happen and wanted to get in training for the duties that devolve on the vice-president.  
—Nashville BANNER

There are two kinds of people who don't let other things distract their attention from their regular work—bandits and bootleggers.  
—Indianapolis NEWS

Statesmen, in examining need of more revenue, are in disagreement on only one point and that is how to get it.  
—Washington STAR

If we understand the news from the Far East, the new government of Manchuria is not clearly recognized by the Manchurians, either.  
—New Yorker

If hunters don't want to be mistaken for deer, they'll have to disguise themselves as deer when they go into the woods where other hunters are running loose.  
—New York HERALD-TRIBUNE

It is said that thousands of men consult astrologers every day to get advice on running their business, and business being what it is we can well believe it.  
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

The string attached to the chancellorship offer to Hitler turned out to be a log chain.  
—Washington POST

Three-cent postage may not cut down the number of Christmas cards, but there is more than a possibility that the wishes won't be as sincere.  
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

The Atlanta federal pen is to have a radio in every cell. Maybe this is a method of punishment.  
—Greensboro (Ga.) HERALD-JOURNAL

Another innovation necessary to make the sales tax successful is sales.  
—Milwaukee LEADER

It's an ill wind that blows no one any benefit. Because Atlantic county can't sell its bonds in anticipation of next year's taxes two murder trials will have to be postponed.  
—Philadelphia INQUIRER

We wonder if the eloquent founders of this nation would have talked so glowingly of posterity, if they had known we were going to be it.  
—Boston HERALD

If the farmers' automobile march on Washington will prolong its visit it can give lame ducks a hitch hike home.—Washington POST



BEYOND THE ALPS LIES ADJOURNMENT

—Hannay in Philadelphia INQUIRER